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Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 RSC-01 SS-15 SSO-00 ISO-00 /018 R

DRAFTED BY S/PRS:RFUNSETH
APPROVED BY S - MR. EAGLEBURGER
S/S-O: P. SHANKLE
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TOSEC 34

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJECT: MCCLOSKEY BACKGROUNDER

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MCCLOSKEY BACKGROUNDER TODAY:

2. "MR. MCCLOSKEY: YOU HAVE HAD A CHANCE, I HOPE,TO RUN THROUGH THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH. AND IT IS EMBARGOED FOR FOUR P.M. - -

NOW, LET ME, IF I MAY, ON BACKGROUND, DRAW SOME FOCUS TO WHAT THE SECRETARY'S EFFORT IS HERE.

THERE ARE THREE MAIN THEMES IN THE SPEECH. ONE, THAT THE WORLD FACES MAJOR AND UNPRECEDENTED CHALLENGES, AND THAT THESE REQUIRE A STRONG AMERICAN ROLE. THIS RELATES TO THE MATTER OF INCREASING INTERDEPENDENCE, BUT IS ALSO MINDFUL OF THE SINGULAR AND INDIVIDUAL WEIGHT OF THIS COUNTRY. TWO, THAT IT IS HIS HOPE THAT THIS COUNTRY SHOULD SEE THIS PERIOD, NOT AS ONE OF DESPAIR, DESPITE PROBLEMS THAT WE FACE, BUT AN OPPORTUNITY FOR GREAT CREATIVITY. NOW, TO DO THIS, IS THE THIRD THEME I WOULD MENTION, WILL REQUIRE A NEW SENSE OF UNITY AND COMMON PURPOSE HERE AT HOME, AND MOST
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IMPORTANTLY WHAT WE MIGHT CALL A NEW NATIONAL PARTNERSHIP

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BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND THE CONGRESS.

FRANKLY, WHAT THE SECRETARY IS SEEKING TO DO IS TO GET

ACROSS TO HIS AUDIENCE AND THROUGH YOU TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHAT HE AND THE PRESIDENT STRONGLY BELIEVE. THAT IS, NOT TO BECOME OVERWHELMED BY DISAPPOINTMENTS, THOSE THAT WE HAVE EXPERIENCED NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY. AND THAT THERE IS THE RESIDUAL STRENGTH, PROVIDED THERE IS THE NATIONAL WILL, TO TURN MATTERS THAT SOMETIMES APPEAR AS CRISES INTO BOLD CONCEPTIONS, AND IN A VERY DELIBERATE EFFORT TO SPEAK IN A CONCILIATORY WAY TO LAY THIS FOUNDATION FOR A NEW PERIOD OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE.

YOU WILL SEE THAT HE DOES NOTE SOME RECENT ACTIONS IN THE CONGRESS THAT HAVE, IN HIS VIEW, HAMPERED OUR FOREIGN POLICY EFFORTS, BUT IN A WAY THAT RECOGNIZES THE CONCERNS OF THE CONGRESS. BUT IT IS HIS STRONG BELIEF THAT WITH THE NEW PRESIDENT, AND INDEED A NEW CONGRESS, EQUALLY IMPORTANTLY, WITH MATTERS LIKE THE TRAUMA OF VIETNAM AND WATERGATE BEHIND US, IS ALL THE MORE REASON FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND A SENSE OF COMMON ENTERPRISE AMONG ALL.

NOW, LET ME TOUCH ON THE SPEECH SPECIFICALLY.

DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE SPEECH, HE ADDRESSES HIMSELF TO A NUMBER OF THE MORE CRITICAL ISSUES, THOSE THAT ARE ON, I CAN SAY, THE TRADITIONAL AGENDA OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY -- FOR EXAMPLE, ARMS CONTROL -- THESEEW GLOBAL ISSUES OF ENERGY AND FOOD. NOW, HE HAS TALKED ABOUT THESE ISSUES, I AM WELL AWARE, IN OTHER SPEECHES, STATE-MENTS, PRESS CONFERENCES. BUT IN THIS SPEECH, HE HAS ATTEMPTED TO LAY THEM IN A CONTEXT OF THIS NEED FOR A NEW PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES.

IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SPEECH, THEN, IT SPEAKS SPECIFI-CALLY TO THAT HOPE FOR A NEW RELATIONSHIP.
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RETURNING, IF I MAY, TO THE FIRST HALF, HE RETURNS FOR A MOMENT TO HISTORY, TO NOTE THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL CONSENSUS AT THE CLOSE OF WORLD WAR II MADE IT POSSIBLE TO CREATE AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM WHICH ASSURED THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY OF EUROPE AND JAPAN, AND ALMOST THIRTY YEARS OF RELATIVE STABILITY IN THE WORLD.

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HE POINTS OUT THAT THESE TRADITIONAL ISSUES, WHICH WERE THE AGENDA OF DIPLOMACY SINCE THE WAR, WILL CONTINUE TO REQUIRE ATTENTION, AND THAT ATTENTION WILL BE GIVEN TO THEM WITH A VIEW TO MAINTAINING THE SOLIDARITY OF ALLIANCE

POLICY EFFORTS. SECONDLY, THE DESIRE FOR MORE -- NOT ONLY A DESIRE FOR BUT A CONTINUATION OF INCREASED STABLE RELATIONS WITH ADVERSARIES. AND THREE, TO WORK WITH OTHERS TO SEEK AN END TO LOCAL CONFLICTS IN A WAY THAT WILL INSULATE THEM FROM ENLARGEMENT BY BIG POWER RIVALRIES.

ON THE NEW QUESTIONS, AGAIN ILLUSTRATED BY ENERGY AND FOOD, THAT WE WILL REQUIRE A RENEWED NATIONAL EFFORT, AND THAT THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY WILL BE DETERMINED BY HOW WELL WE RESPOND.

AND ON THE THEME OF INTERDEPENDENCE, HE POINTS OUT THAT GLOBAL PROBLEMS CANNOT BE RESOLVED BY THE ACTIONS OF ONE OR ONLY A FEW OF THE STATES.

NOW, I THINK HE MAKES A POINT WHICH WAS OFTEN MISSED IN RECENT MONTHS, AND THAT IS THAT SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARDS MEETING THE ENERGY CRISIS HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE. AND THAT IT IS MORE THAN JUST NOTEWORTHY THAT ALL OF THIS HAS OCCURRED IN LESS THAN A YEAR -- HAVING IN MIND THAT WHEN THE ENERGY CONFERENCE WAS OPENED HERE LAST FEBRUARY, I THINK IT FAIR TO SAY THAT THE HOPES THAT COOPERATIVE ENDEAVORS COULD BE ACHIEVED LOOKED SOMEWHAT DIM. AND HE MENTIONS IN THE SPEECH THAT THERE IS NOW AGREEMENT ON CREATING THIS $25 BILLION SAFETY NET.

NOW, ON ENERGY AND ON FOOD, HE ATTEMPTS TO DESCRIBE WHAT FURTHER STEPS ARE NEEDED BY WAY OF A NATIONAL AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INTERNATIONAL EFFORT. HE PROVIDES A FRAMEWORK FOR HOW HE HOPES TO SEE FOOD PROBLEMS ALLEVIATED, IF NOT RESOLVED. AND THAT THESE NEW CHALLENGES AGAIN CANNOT BE MET BY INDIVIDUAL ACTION, EVEN THOUGH THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE IN A BETTER POSITION THAN OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD TO SOLVE IN ITS NATIONAL INTEREST SOME OF THESE PROBLEMS.

RETURNING TO THE HOPE OF A SENSE OF NATIONAL PURPOSE AND THAT THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES CAN FORM A NEW PARTNERSHIP, HE STRESSES AN OBVIOUS THEME, THAT THAT MUST BE BASED ON TRUST AND A SENSE OF COMMON ENDEAVOR.

AND I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE WORTH POINTING OUT THAT IN HIS TESTIMONY ON HIS CONFIRMATION HEARINGS, IN AUGUST, I

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GUESS IT WAS OF 1973 -- SEPTEMBER OF '73, HE PROMISED
THAT HE WOULD MAKE PERSONALLY EVERY EFFORT TO ENHANCE,
IMPROVE AND HOPE TO SUSTAIN A COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP
WITH THE CONGRESS. IN THE SPEECH HE MENTIONS THE NUMBER
OF TIMES THAT HE HAS TESTIFIED BEFORE COMMITTEES. AND
THERE IS IN FACT A GREATER NUMBER OF MEETINGS THAT HE HAS

HAD WITH INDIVIDUALS OR SMALL GROUPS INFORMALLY, WITH
CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS.

I THINK THAT IS IS FAIR TO SAY THAT THE SECRETARY HERE
IS TAKING A MAJOR INITIATIVE IN SUGGESTING THAT THE
CONGRESS CONSIDER WHAT STEPS MAY BE NECESSARY TO
ESTABLISH THE NEW PARTNERSHIP WHICH WE HOPE CAN BE
ACHIEVED.

HE HAS ALREADY MET WITH THREE SEPARATE GROUPS OF NEW
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND NEW SENATORS. I THINK THAT IS A
FURTHER MARK OF HIS EARNEST. AND ALL IN THE HOPE THAT
AMICABLE RELATIONSHIPS, BUT MOST IMPORTANTLY, PRODUCTIVE
ENDEAVORS CAN BE JOINED BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE
CONGRESS. -

NOW, HE DOES, IN THE LATTER PART OF THE SPEECH, REFER TO
SOME RECENT PROBLEMS. BUT I WANT TO EMPHASIZE, AS HE
DOES, THAT IT IS NOT A MATTER OF ASSIGNING BLAME, BUT
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THAT THESE ARE OR WERE ACTIONS THAT HAVE MADE IT DIFFI-
CULT TO CARRY OUT WHAT AT LEAST IN CONCEPT WERE POLICY
OBJECTIVES SHARED BY THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS.

WELL, I THINK THAT THAT IS A FAIR SUMMARY OF THE SPEECH
AND HIS HOPE IN MAKING IT, AND CERTAINLY WE HOPE THAT THE
RESPONSE BY THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WILL BE IN THE SAME
SPIRIT THAT MOTIVATED THE SECRETARY MAKING THIS SPEECH.

Q BOB, I AM ALWAYS A LITTLE BOTHERED ABOUT THIS RELATION-
SHIP BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND CONGRESS. WHEN HE TALKS
ABOUT NEW APPROACHES, DO THE NEW APPROACHES THAT HE HAS IN
MIND GO AS FAR AS ANY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS OR ANYTHING
LIKE THAT. AND I REALIZE THAT IS AN EXTREME QUESTION,
BUT I WANTED TO DEFINE THE PERIMETER THING.

I ASSUME FROM WHAT IS SAID AFTER THAT HE IS TALKING ABOUT
INTENSIFIED CONSULTATIONS AND SO FORTH. BUT HE TALKS
ABOUT CONFIDENTIALITY AND THE NEED FOR THAT, AT THE SAME
TIME THAT HE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE INDIVIDUAL CONGRESS-
MAN MUST REPRESENT THE PARTICULAR VIEWS OF HIS CONSTIT-
UENTS, AND THEIR CONSTITUENTS ARE NOT ALWAYS ENTIRELY

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RATIONAL BECAUSE A DEMOCRACY IS NOT ENTIRELY TIDY.

SO WITHOUT TRYING TO BE CRITICAL, THIS QUESTION OF NEW APPROACHES I DON'T UNDERSTAND.

MR. MCCLOSKEY: I PERFECTLY UNDERSTAND IT, STU. I ASSURE YOU THAT THE SECRETARY DOES NOT HAVE IN HIS MIND PROPOSING CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AS A DEVICE OR A

MEANS OF IMPROVING A RELATIONSHIP THAT ALREADY HAS A PRETTY FIRM BASIS IN THE CONSTITUTION. NO. MORE IN A SENSE THAT THIS CAN BE DONE INFORMALLY, AND NOT NECES-SARILY IN A STRUCTURED WAY.

FOR EXAMPLE, IF, ON THE MATTER OF CYPRUS, GROUPS OF -- AND IT COULD BE MIXED, BETWEEN CONGRESS AND SENATORS WHO HAVE A PARTICULAR INTEREST BECAUSE OF THE COMMITTEE THAT ONE OR MORE MIGHT SERVE ON, OR BECAUSE OF A CONSTITUENT INTEREST, WOULD MEET INFORMALLY TO DISCUSS THEIR RESPEC-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TIVE POINTS OF VIEW BEFORE ANY LEGISLATIVE ACTION IS TAKEN. AND AT THE SAME TIME WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION IS IN THE THROES OF WHAT IT THINKS IT MIGHT HAVE TO DO, OR DECISIONS THAT IT MIGHT BE FACED WITH. SO I THINK IT IS MORE OF AN INFORMAL BUT ENLARGED PROCESS OF CONSULTATION THAT WE ARE MORE THAN WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN.

Q THE SECRETARY SAYS IN THE SPEECH, 'I INVITE THE CONGRESS TO A NEW NATIONAL PARTNERSHIP.' YOU STRESS THIS POINT, TOO, IN YOUR PRESENTATION. DOES THIS MEAN THAT HE EXPECTS CONGRESS TO COME FORWARD WITH SOME CONCRETE PROPOSALS? DOES THIS EXCLUDE THE ADMINISTRATION TO MAKE THE INITIATIVE?

A. NO, IT DOESN'T EXCLUDE THE ADMINISTRATION AT ALL. BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT IN ONE CONVERSATION THAT I PARTICI-PATED IN WITH HIM RECENTLY, THE ONE MEMBER OF THE CONGRESS THERE SAID THAT HE HAD SOME IDEAS HIMSELF THAT HE HAD THOUGHT ABOUT OVER THE YEARS AND THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS -- IN THIS INSTANCE, HE SAID WITH ME. I'D BE THE LINK THEN WITH THE SECRETARY.

BUT, NO -- IT DOESN'T PRECLUDE OUR SUGGESTING FROM TIME TO TIME THAT WE MIGHT MEET ON THIS OR THAT SUBJECT HERE OR ON THE HILL.

Q BOB, WHAT DID HE DO ABOUT THIS --

Q BOB, HE TALKED ABOUT NEW PRINCIPLES HERE. AND ONCE

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BEFORE, WHEN THE SECRETARY SPOKE ABOUT PRINCIPLES, HE STARTED CODIFYING VARIOUS RELATIONSHIPS; AND I WONDERED: DOES HE HAVE IN MIND SOME FORMALIZATION OF A RELATIONSHIP? AND, (2), A PROCEDURAL QUESTION: IN CASE THE SECRETARY DEPARTS FROM HIS TEXT, AND IN CASE HE TAKES QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR, WILL WE BE ABLE TO BE INFORMED OF THAT?

A. WELL, FIRST, NO. HE DOESN'T HAVE IN MIND ANY CODIFICATION OF PRINCIPLES WHICH WOULD BE IMMUTABLE. THE

WORD THERE IS USED IN A MUCH MORE GENERIC SENSE.
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SO FAR AS LOS ANGELES IS CONCERNED, AS I UNDERSTOOD IT, THERE WOULD BE NO QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR.

NOW, DEPARTURES FROM THE TEXT I ALWAYS HAVE TO ALLOW FOR; AND WE HAVE PEOPLE THERE WHO WILL COVER IT --

Q BOB --

Q WILL WE BE INFORMED?

A -- FOR US. AND IF THERE'S ANYTHING NOTEWORTHY WHY, WE'LL GET IT TO YOUR ATTENTION.

Q BOB --

Q WILL THERE BY ANY ATTEMPT MADE TO REPEAL OR MODIFY OR SUPERSEDE THE CHURCH-CASE AMENDMENT, THE WAR POWERS ACT, OR THE END-USE RESTRICTIONS ON MILITARY AID?

A WELL, THAT'S A RATHER BIG ORDER; I DON'T KNOW.

I DON'T EXPECT THAT KIND OF INITIATIVE -- NO. BUT WHERE PARTICULAR LEGISLATION BEARS ON A POLICY THAT WE'RE SEEKING TO CARRY OUT, OBVIOUSLY IT COMES UP FOR SOME DISCUSSION. BUT I DON'T SUSPECT THAT WE'RE PROPOSING CHANGES IN THOSE PARTICULAR PIECES OF LEGISLATION.

Q THE I RAISED THAT IS BECAUSE HE REFERS TO THE CYPRUS SITUATION, WHICH WAS NOT A RECENT LEGISLATIVE INTERFERENCE BUT A QUESTION OF EXISTING LAW ON THE END USE OF MILITARY AID. AND I JUST WONDER IF HE REGARDS THAT EXISTING LAW WITHOUT REGARD TO THE CYPRUS-TURKEY DISPUTE AS BEING UNNECESSARILY RESTRICTIVE ON HIS FREEDOM OF ACTION.

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A IF HE HAS THAT IN MIND, IT IS NOT SOMETHING THAT I'M AWARE OF; AND I'D BE INCLINED TO DOUBT THAT.

Q BOB, ON PAGE 8, HE SAYS THAT THE U.S. WILL MAKE FURTHER PROPOSALS TO IMPLEMENT FOOD PROGRAMS TO OVERCOME THE FOOD
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DEFICIT IN THE WORLD; AND HE PLEDGES THAT WE WILL SUB-STANTIALLY INCREASE OUR OWN FOOD ASSISTANCE.

AND THEN HE GOES ON, IN THE NEXT PARAGRAPH, TO TALK ABOUT OTHER SURPLUS PRODUCERS, INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS, AND OIL PRODUCERS JOINED IN THIS ENTERPRISE. DOES HE HAVE A SPECIFIC PROGRAM? IS THERE SOMETHING THAT REQUIRES

CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL IN THIS CONNECTION, OR IS THIS MORE OF A HOPE THAN AN ACTUALITY?

A WELL, ON FOOD, WE ARE GETTING CLOSE TO THE TIME WHEN THE PRESIDENT WILL MAKE A DECISION ON THE SO-CALLED OPTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN PRESENTED TO HIM. AND IT IS OUR EXPECTATION THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL COME DOWN, I WOULD SAY, ON THE HIGH SIDE.

I THINK THE SECRETARY HAS ALREADY AVERTED TO THIS IN THE MOYERS INTERVIEW. AND THAT, IF IT PROVES TO BE THE CASE, WILL BE A FAIRLY SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE, AS I UNDERSTAND IT, FROM, SAY, LAST YEAR -- SOMETHING ON THE ORDER OF ONE-THIRD.

Q ARE YOU TALKING IN TERMS OF MONEY OR IN TERMS OF ACTUAL PROGRAMS?

A I'M TALKING IN TERMS OF MONEY, WHICH OF COURSE MEANS FOOD. AND, FURTHER, OUR GENERAL AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANCE TO LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES HAS BEEN OR WILL BE IN-CREASED IN THE COMING YEAR -- AND THAT THERE ARE TO BE DISCUSSIONS TO BEGIN IN LONDON -- I'M FRANK TO TELL YOU I'M NOT CLEAR, PRESENTLY, WHO ENTIRELY PARTICIPATES -- THIS WITH A VIEW TO MOUNTING AN EFFORT TO INCREASE RESERVES IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES SO THAT THEY IN TURN MIGHT BE AVAILABLE ON A COOPERATIVE BASIS TO THE MORE NEEDY COUNTRIES.

Q CAN I? I'M TROUBLED BY THIS WHOLE ATMOSPHERE -- SOME-THING ABOUT THIS PRESENTATION IN HIS SPEECH. WHAT'S DIFFERENT, BOB, BETWEEN THIS SPEECH AND THE TESTIMONY YOU ALLUDED TO BEFORE THE CONGRESS WHERE HE PLEDGED COOPERA-
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TION AND CONCILIATION AND EVERYTHING? WHAT IS DIFFERENT IN THIS SPEECH THAT WE CAN EXPECT ANY CHANGE? WHY SHOULD CONGRESS LISTEN TO THIS NOW ANY MORE THAN THEY LISTENED TO IT BEFORE?

A YOU'RE IMPLYING THAT THEY DIDN'T LISTEN TO IT BEFORE?

Q WELL, APPARENTLY. HE SEEMS TO IMPLY IT, BECAUSE THERE'S THIS BREAKDOWN IN COMMUNICATION THAT HE TALKS ABOUT, IN THE DAY-TO-DAY INTERFERENCE -- OR THE WORD HERE USED -- IN THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY.

Q CAN I ADD TO THAT QUESTION? IN EFFECT, WHAT IS NEW, FROM THE ADMINISTRATION POINT OF VIEW? WHAT IS NEW ABOUT THE PARTNERSHIP?
-

HE SEEMS TO BE SAYING, 'WE'LL KEEP ON DOING THE SAME THINGS, BUT YOU SHOULD STOP INTERFERING NOW.' I THINK THAT'S THE IMPRESSION.

Q THAT THEY REALLY WOULD GET IN OUR WAY.

A WELL NOW, NO. I WOULD HAVE TO SUBMIT THAT THAT WOULD BE AN UNFAIR READING -- AND, CERTAINLY, OF THE INTENTION THAT THE SECRETARY HAS IN MIND HERE.

REMEMBER, OR RECALL, THAT IN A PRESS CONFERENCE SOME SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, HE SAID -- AND THERE IS AN IMPLIED REFERENCE TO IT HERE -- THAT FOR THE PERIOD OF SOMETHING ON THE ORDER OF TWO YEARS, DURING THE TRAUMA OF WATERGATE, THAT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT SUBJECTED TO THE MORE CAREFUL SCRUTINY WHICH IT HAS BEEN UNDERGOING IN THE MONTHS SINCE THE CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION, THE RESIGNATION OF THE PRESIDENT, AND HE EXPRESSES SOME APPRECIATION FOR THAT IN THE PERIOD OF THE NATIONAL DISSENT IN THE COUNTRY; BUT THAT IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED THAT THE CONGRESS WOULD BEGIN TO SCRUTINIZE FOREIGN POLICY -- INCREASINGLY.

AND THAT'S A FAIR ROLE FOR THE CONGRESS. AND IN DOING IT,

WE SEE THAT CERTAIN THINGS HAPPENED, THAT HE REFERS TO IN THIS SPEECH.

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NOW, HE IS SAYING THAT WITH AN INCREASED EFFORT THAT WE WILL MAKE, WE HOPE THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO ENJOY MORE CONCERT BETWEEN OURSELVES AND MORE AMICABILITY AND MORESENSE OF PURPOSE IF WE CAN WORK CLOSER TOGETHER SO THAT THE CONGRESS DOESN'T FEEL THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS TRYING TO HAMSTRING ITS LEGITIMATE ROLE IN FOREIGN POLICY AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD HAVE SOME ASSURANCE THAT WHERE POLICY OBJECTIVES ARE AGREEABLE WITH THE CONGRESS THAT THIS OUGHT TO BE A PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP.

I DON'T KNOW HOW ANYONE CAN SERIOUSLY QUESTION THE INTENTION THAT HE PUTS FORWARD HERE, PARTICULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS.

Q BOB, MAY I JOIN THIS --

A I MUST EMPHASIZE THAT THIS IS A GENUINE AND SINCERE EFFORT.

NOW, OBVIOUSLY, I'M A BIT OF AN ADVOCATE HERE; BUT I CAN GIVE YOU MY WORD THAT THIS IS A GENUINE EFFORT.

Q YES; BUT, BOB --

Q MAY I FOLLOW THAT UP, PLEASE?

Q IS THERE ANYTHING HERE THAT HE IS NOT DOING OR HASN'T BEEN DOING, ESSENTIALLY? I MEAN, AS HE SAID, 'WHAT'S DIFFERENT?'

A FIRST, WHAT IS DIFFERENT IS THAT THERE WILL BE MUCH MORE CONSULTATION WITH THE COMMITTEES, WITH THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS, AND THOSE WHO FORM THEMSELVES INTO SMALL GROUPS TO CREATE A MUCH MORE OR A GREATER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OURSELVES ON OUR OBJECTIVES SO THAT NEITHER SIDE BECOMES FRUSTRATED BY THE ACTIONS OF THE OTHER AND THAT IT NEEDN'T BE THAT KIND OF A RELATIONSHIP.

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Q BUT, BOB, THIS SMALL GROUP STRUCTURE THAT YOU'VE COME BACK TO SEVERAL TIMES -- DOESN'T THE SECRETARY HAVE ANY QUALMS ABOUT THIS TYPE OF APPROACH, IN LIGHT OF THE SMALL GROUP THAT HAS BEEN CHARTED WITH OVERSEEING CIA, FOR INSTANCE?

WHAT I'M TRYING TO SAY, AND PROBABLY WAS SAYING BADLY: ISN'T IT ANTITHECAL TO A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND TO A FULL CONGRESSIONAL PARTNERSHIP TO RELY ON, YOU KNOW, WHAT SOME PEOPLE MIGHT CALL 'PAPPA KNOWS BEST' OR 'PAPPA

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AND THE THREE OF US OVER THERE WHO ARE WISE ENOUGH TO UNDERSTAND WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO?'

A BARRY, I'M SORRY; YOU'RE MISREADING WHAT I HAD IN MIND.

Q THE 'SMALL GROUPS' IS WHAT I'D LIKE YOU TO DEFINE FOR ME.

A ALL RIGHT. THE SMALL GROUPS IS WHAT I WAS ATTEMPTING TO SAY. AND I DIDN'T MEAN TO EMPHASIZE THE SMALL GROUP AS EXCLUSIVE OF OTHER, MORE TRADITIONAL, WAYS OF CONSULTATION.

KEEP IN MIND THAT THERE IS, BY OUR JUDGMENT, A GREATER NUMBER -- THERE ARE MORE CONGRESSMEN TODAY COMING INTO THE CONGRESS, WHETHER THEY ARE ON THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS OR FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEES OF THE TWO HOUSES, WHO HAVE A GREATER INTEREST IN FOREIGN POLICY.

NOW, OBVIOUSLY, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE, GIVEN THE LARGE NUMBERS -- 500 OR MORE -- TO HAVE INDIVIDUAL CONSULTATION WITH EACH AND EVERY ONE OF THE MEMBERS.

HOWEVER, WE WANT TO GO BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL PROCEDURES -- WHICH INVOLVED, BY AND LARGE, FORMAL TESTIMONY BEFORE COMMITTEES -- TO MEET AND DISCUSS INFORMALLY WITH THOSE GREATER NUMBERS WHO ARE NOW INTERESTED IN FOREIGN POLICY. AND IT'S FOR THEM TO DECIDE HOW THEY WOULD LIKE TO ORGAN-IZE THESE KIND OF THINGS.

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I HOPE THAT CLARIFIED THIS POINT.

Q AND, CERTAINLY, NO DECREASE -- AND, IN FACT, AN INCREASE, OF THE PUBLIC STATEMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY BY STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS; RIGHT?

A WELL, I THINK THAT THIS IS INHERENTLY INVOLVED; AND I'M GETTING THE POINT (LAUGHTER) -- ALTHOUGH WE COULD CONDUCT A SEMINAR ON THAT.

Q NO -- EXCUSE ME. I MEAN WITH CONGRESS.

A WITH CONGRESS.

Q WHAT I'M SAYING IS THAT, PRESUMABLY, CONGRESS REPRE-SENTS THE PUBLIC AND THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST IN FOREIGN POLICY -- AND WHETHER IT LIKES TYING EMIGRATION TO

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MFN, AND WHETHER IT LIKES A CEILING ON EXPORT-IMPORT -- AND TO, YOU KNOW, DIG OUT A COUPLE OF OLD BARONS OVER THERE TO REALLY UNDERSTAND WHAT'S REALLY AT STAKE AND TALK TO THEM PRIVATELY MAY BE NOT EXACTLY THE WAY TO DO THINGS.

A LOOK, IT SHOULD BE OBVIOUS TO YOU THAT WHERE IN THE PAST IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE FOREIGN POLICY AREA TO DEAL WITH THE SO-CALLED LEADER-SHIP --

Q YES.

A -- THAT THAT PROBABLY IS NO LONGER GOING TO BE AN EFFECTIVE WAY TO CONDUCT CONSULTATIONS BEYOND TESTIMONY BEFORE COMMITTEES -- THAT NOW THERE IS A LARGER AND MORE DIVERSE GROUP OF MEMBERS IN BOTH HOUSES WHO ARE GOING TO WANT TO BECOME, AT LEAST, INFORMED -- EVEN IF THEY DON'T HAVE A PARTICULAR CONGRESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY IN FOREIGN POLICY. AND WE WILL MAKE A MAXIMUM EFFORT TO MEET THAT INTEREST.

Q BOB, IF YOU'LL FORGIVE ME THOUGH, I THINK THERE'S A MORE CENTRAL POINT; AND THE FLY IN THE OINTMENT THAT YOU LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SEEM TO BE ALLUDING TO, AND THAT THE SECRETARY IS ALLUD-

ING TO, SEEMS TO BE A WILLINGNESS TO CONSULT ON THE STRATEGIC, 'IF YOU'LL LEAVE US ALONE ON THE TACTICAL.'

WOULD THAT BE AN UNFAIR CONCLUSION TO DRAW?

A IT'S A LITTLE TOO MUCH SHORTHAND TO SUM UP THE EFFORT THAT THESECRETARY IS MAKING HERE IN THE SPEECH.

HE SAYS WE ARE NOT ASKING FOR A BLANK CHECK. NOW, IF HE SAYS THAT, IT DOESN'T SEEM TO ME THAT ONE CAN THEN SAY, 'HE'S ASKING THAT WE BE LEFT TO RUN ALL OF THE TACTICS IN ALL OF THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS' -- WHICH WAS IMPLIED, I THINK, BY WHAT YOU SAID.

SO THE ANSWER IS 'NO. THAT IS NOT A FAIR DESCRIPTION OF WHAT IT IS HE'S TRYING TO CONVEY HERE.'

Q YES; BUT MY PROBLEM, BOB -- AND IT GOES BACK TO THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH -- IS THAT HE CONCEDES THAT THERE HAS BEEN GENERAL AGREEMENT IN THE PAST ON WHAT I SUPPOSE MIGHT BE CALLED THE STRATEGIC AREAS OF FOREIGN POLICY -- AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND CONGRESS --

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AND THOSE ITEMS THAT HE SELECTS OUT AS BEING THE PRIME EXAMPLES OF DISAGREEMENT SEEMED TO FALL INTO THE TACTICAL AREA. AND I DON'T SEE, TO GO BACK TO KEN'S ORIGINAL QUESTION, WHAT'S NEW. I DON'T SEE WHERE THERE IS REALLY ANY OPPORTUNITY FOR CHANGING THAT. THERE STILL MAY BE AGREEMENT ON THE BORDER BASE, ON THE STRATEGIC, ON THE OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY -- BUT WHAT DO YOU DO ABOUT THE DISAGREEMENT WHEN IT COMES RIGHT DOWN TO THE LEGISLATION ITSELF, WHEN IT COMES RIGHT DOWN TO THE TACTICAL MOVES?

A WELL, HE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT WHERE THERE IS DISAGREEMENT:

THERE WILL BE DISAGREEMENT. WE WILL ARGUE DIFFERENT COURSES OF ACTION, AND WE MUST BOTH, THEN, BE GUIDED BY THE OUTCOME. THIS IS ONLY A FAIR PROPOSITION, IT SEEMS TO ME.

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BUT I REALLY, AM QUITE DISAPPOINTED TO HAVE YOU IN EFFECT, CONCLUDE THAT THERE IS NOTHING NEW IN WHAT HE IS ATTEMPT-ING TO SAY HERE, BY WAY OF TRYING TO DEVELOP A BETTER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CONGRESS.

Q BOB, ON THIS NEW PARTNERSHIP --

A -- THAT, I MUST SAY, IS DISAPPOINTING.

Q BOB, ON THIS NEW PARTNERSHIP, COULD I JUST FOLLOW ON

THIS POINT, DAVE.

Q WELL I'M MAKING THE SAME POINT. MAYBE WHAT I'M ASKING, BOB, IS THERE ANY ROOM HERE FOR THE SECRETARY TO, WITH GOOD GRACE -- AND MAYBE THAT'S THE WRONG WORD, HE ALWAYS USES GOOD GRACE -- BUT IS THERE ANY ROOM FOR THE SECRETARY TO BOW BEFORE THE WILL OF CONGRESS, IN WHAT TED DESCRIBES AS TACTICAL EFFORT?

FOR INSTANCE, CONGRESS MADE IT CLEAR IT DIDN'T WANT 1.4 OR EVEN 1 BILLION DOLLARS ON MILITARY AID TO VIET-NAM -- THAT WANTED $700 MILLION. CONGRESS -- NOW THE EXECUTIVE IS GOING BACK AND SAYING, YOU ARE WRONG, WE NEED THE EXTRA $300 MILLION.

FOR WANT OF A BETTER WORD, IT SEEMED LIKE THE STATE DEPARTMENT TRIED VERY HARD TO SUBVERT CONGRESSIONAL WILL ON THE TURKISH AID QUESTION, AND ENDED UP WITH EXTRA LEGISLATION TO TRY AND DEMAND BEHAVIOR BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT. IS THERE GOING TO BE A CHANGE IN THAT KIND

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OF AN APPROACH TO EXCEED -- IN FACT, EXECUTE THE WILL OF CONGRESS IN THIS EFFORT, RATHER THAN TRY AND GO BEYOND IT?

A FIRST, I MUST SAY, KEN, THAT THERE IS IMPLIED IN WHAT YOU SAY, THE NOTION THAT THERE IS NOTHING BUT AN ULTERIOR MOTIVE BEHIND WHAT THE SECRETARY IS TRYING TO SAY. WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT 'SUBVERTING THE WILL OF THE CONGRESS' ON THE QUESTION OF TURKISH AID -- I THINK THAT IS UNFAIR, TO PUT IT MILDLY.

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WE HAVEN'T SUBVERTED THE WILL OF THE CONGRESS. THE WILL OF THE CONGRESS IS THERE IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE AMEND-MENT, WHICH SAYS, AS YOU KNOW -- AND I DON'T NEED TO REPEAT THE TERMS OF IT.

THE FACT THAT THE CONGRESS CUT THE REQUEST FOR THE APPROPRIATION FOR VIET-NAM, IS NOT AN UNPRECEDENTED MATTER THAT ANY ADMINISTRATION WOULD GO BACK TO REQUEST SUPPLEMENTAL ASSISTANCE. IT DID IT IN THE CASE OF ISRAEL IN 1973, AT THE END OF 1973. NOW I CAN'T BELIEVE THAT ANYONE HERE WOULD SAY THAT THAT WAS AN ATTEMPT TO SUBVERT THE WILL OF THE CONGRESS, ANY MORE THAN IT IS TO SUGGEST THAT WE ARE SUBVERTING THE WILL OF THE CONGRESS IF WE GO BACK FOR A SUPPLEMENTAL ON ASSISTANCE TO VIET-NAM.

IF WE MAKE THE JUDGMENT THAT THIS ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE IS REQUIRED, I THINK THE ADMINISTRATION HAS THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO GO BACK TO THE CONGRESS TO

REQUEST IT.

NOW, WHETHER THE ADMINISTRATION OBTAINS IT, IS ANOTHER MATTER.

Q LET ME FOLLOW ON, IF I MAY, PLEASE.

NOW ON THE SO-CALLED 'NEW PARTNERSHIP' THE PREMISE, IT SEEMS TO ME, IS THAT THERE IS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF MISTRUST AND SUSPICION IN THE CONGRESS REGARDING THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, AND THAT WHAT THE SECRETARY IS SAYING IS THAT HE WANTS TO OVERCOME THIS.

I WOULD LIKE TO ASK IF THE SECRETARY WOULD CONSIDER IT IN CRITICAL, OR CONTROVERSIAL AREAS, OF TAKING CONGRESSMEN ALONG WITH HIM IN A NEGOTIATION, AS HAS BEEN DONE BY SOME OTHER GOVERNMENTS -- TAKING PARLIAMENTARIANS ALONG, FOR INSTANCE -- THE GERMANS TO MOSCOW WHEN THEY WERE NEGOTIAT-

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ING IN 1970 -- WHETHER THAT KIND OF INVOLVEMENT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

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AND SECOND, WHEN YOU MENTIONED THE THREE GROUPS OF NEW CONGRESSMEN THAT THE SECRETARY HAS SEEN -- PERHAPS IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IF YOU COULD NAME THE DATES AND THE SIZES OF THOSE GROUPS AND THE GENERAL THEMES THAT WERE DISCUSSED.

A DAVID, I WOULDN'T RULE OUT THAT WE WOULD HAVE MORE INCREASED CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION IN THE CONDUCT OF OUR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES, AND MATTERS LIKE THAT. INDEED, THAT'S NOT AN UNPRECEDENTED MATTER.

Q YOU DID IT ON THE MEXICO TRIP.

A WELL I WAS THINKING OF THAT ONE, AND OF ANOTHER ONE IN THE TIME THAT HENRY KISSINGER HAS BEEN SECRETARY OF STATE -- SO I CERTAINLY ALLOW THAT AS AN OPEN POSSIBILITY.

WITH RESPECT TO THE NEW MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS AND HIS MEETING WITH THEM -- THERE WERE TWO SESSIONS LAST WEEK, AND I'LL HAVE TO CHECK THE DAY -- THE NIGHTS -- I WAS THERE; AND THEN THERE WAS THE THIRD ONE ON TUESDAY NIGHT OF THIS WEEK.

ALL OF THE NEW MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND THE NEW MEMBERS OF THE SENATE WERE INVITED, SO WE ARE TALKING ABOUT SOMETHING ON THE ORDER OF 110 -- AND THEY WERE BROKEN INTO THREE, RESPECTIVELY EQUAL GROUPS.

Q BOB, THERE SEEMS TO BE RUNNING THROUGH WHAT YOU ARE SAYING HERE TODAY IN THE SPEECH, AND BILL MOYER'S INTERVIEW -- THE GENERAL KIND OF NOTE OF OPTIMISM ON THE PART OF THE SECRETARY THAT DESPITE THE NUMBER OF SETBACKS, ALL IS NOT LOST AND WE CAN STILL GO AHEAD ON THIS.

IF YOU, IN YOUR NEW JOB, WOULD LOOK AHEAD A FEW WEEKS, DO YOU ANTICIPATE THAT AN ADMINISTRATION EFFORT TO TRY TO REMOVE SOME OF THE RESTRICTIVE AMENDMENTS TO THE TRADE BILL, TO TRY TO ON THE OPEC RESTRICTIONS, TO TRY TO GET THAT UNDONE BY CONGRESS -- DOES THIS PUBLIC AIRING IN ANY WAY SIGNAL A NEW EFFORT BY THE ADMINISTRATION, APART FROM THE RHETORIC HERE, IN THE PRACTICAL TERMS, TO TRY TO
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UNDO SOME OF THE DAMAGE, REGARDLESS OF WHO WAS AT FAULT.

A WELL, IT SEEMS PRETTY CLEAR TO ME, ALTHOUGH I DONT KNOW PRECISELY WHAT IS TO HAPPEN, THAT SOMETHING IN A RENEWED WAY HAS TO BE UNDERTAKEN WITH RESPECT TO THE TRADE BILL AND THE RESTRICTIONS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION.

AND AGAIN, WHERE EVER THEY AFFECT THE OPEC COUNTRIES -- SO THAT I AM INCLINED TO THINK: YES, AN EFFORT IS TO BE MADE.

NOW, HOW PRECISELY THAT WILL BE DONE, I DON'T THINK HAS BEEN THOUGHT THROUGH -- AND I THINK THAT IS A PRETTY FAIR ACCOUNTING OF THE WAY THE SECRETARY LEFT IT WITH THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, JUST THE OTHER DAY.
Q BOB --
A LET ME GO BACK TO THIS QUESTION, IF I MAY, ABOUT THE GENUINENESS OF THE EFFORT HERE.

IT'S -- ONE HAS TO CONSIDER THAT, SUPPOSING THE ADMINISTRATION HAD RETREATED INTO A PERIOD WHERE IT WAS SIMPLY GOING TO CONDUCT AN ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CONGRESS, BECAUSE OF THE DISAPPOINTMENTS IT SUFFERED OVER THE LEGISLATION THAT AFFECTED CERTAIN FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IN THE RECENT MONTHS.

NOW IF WE HAD DONE THAT, THE SECRETARY WOULDN'T BE OUT MAKING THE KIND OF SPEECH HE'S MAKING TODAY -- SO IT SEEMS RATHER OBVIOUS TO ME THAT, TAKEN AT FACE VALUE THE EFFORT IS HERE.

NOW YOU WILL BE ABLE TO JUDGE, YOURSELVES, AS WILL MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OVER THE COMING MONTHS, WHETHER WE ARE SUCCEEDING.

BUT WHETHER WE SUCCEED, STILL LEAVES OPEN THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER WE TRIED -- AND I ASSURE YOU WE ARE GOING TO TRY.

Q BOB, ON THAT QUESTION OF WHETHER YOU SUCCEED, IS IT THE SECRETARY'S FEELING THAT THIS NEW RELATIONSHIP CAN BE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ACHIEVED BEFORE THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS?

A BERNIE, I MUST SAY, FOR ALL OF THE QUESTIONS I THOUGHT MIGHT ARISE, I DIDN'T CONSIDER THAT ONE, AND I DON'T KNOW THAT IT HAS OCCURRED TO THE SECRETARY. CERTAINLY,

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IT IS NOT A MATTER THAT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED WHILE THE SPEECH WAS BEING DRAFTED.

Q WELL LET ME -- CAN I JUST FOLLOW THIS UP?

A WELL LET ME SAY THIS; THAT IT JUST SEEMS TO ME -- AND I THINK THIS IS FAIR TO SAY OF THE SECRETARY -- THAT THIS OUGHT TO NOW BECOME A WAY OF LIFE BETWEEN WHATEVER ADMINISTRATION IS IN OFFICE, AND WHATEVER MAJORITY HAPPENS TO BE IN THE CONGRESS AT ANY GIVEN TIME. I THINK THAT THE ISSUES BEFORE THE COUNTRY -- I THINK THE MOOD OF THE COUNTRY -- I THINK THE CONCERNS OF THE COUNTRY SCREAM FOR THIS KIND OF CONSENSUS BETWEEN THE BRANCHES OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND JUST AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN, IT WOULD SEEM TO ME THAT THIS IS SOMETHING THAT ALL OF THE PEOPLE ARE REACHING FOR, ACROSS THE COUNTRY AND IN MATTERS THAT AFFECT ALL OF THEIR AFFAIRS.

Q BOB, ON A QUESTION OF SPECIFIC FOREIGN POLICY, PERHAPS THIS WOULD HELP US PIN DOWN THIS KIND OF PARTNERSHIP YOU ARE TRYING TO DESCRIBE.

IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS IT HAS BECOME MORE APPARENT TO MORE PEOPLE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS PINNING DOWN VARIOUS AREAS IN THE PERSIAN GULF WHERE IT CAN HAVE BASE RIGHTS OR WHATEVER. THERE ARE PEOPLE IN CONGRESS WHO ARE NOT PARTICULARLY HAPPY ABOUT THIS. A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO FOR THE FIRST TIME OMAN GOT ARMS. CERTAINLY I'M SURE CONGRESS WAS INFORMED ABOUT THIS.

BUT MY QUESTION IS WHERE DOESCONGRESS COME IN IN THE FORMATION OF POLICY SO THAT YOU DON'T GET A LOT OF PEOPLE SAYING, 'WE'RE VERY UNAHPPY WITH THIS KIND OF INVOLVEMENT, WHY DON'T WE DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT, LET'S HAVE HEARINGS ON IT.' AND IT IMMEDIATELY BECOMES AN ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP? WHERE DOES THIS NEW PARTNER-
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SHIP DIFFER, OR WOULD IT DIFFER, DO YOU SUPPOSE, FROM WHAT HAS BEEN GOING ON?

A LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE. SINCE I HAVE BEGUN CONDUCTING THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL I HAVE BEEN ON THE HILL SOMETHING ON THE ORDER OF A DOZEN TIMES TO REPORT TO MOSTLY SENATORS BUT IN A FEW OF THOSE INSTANCES MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE WHERE WE ARE, WHAT SEEMED TO ME TO BE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE GOVERNMENTS WITH WHOM WE'RE NEGOTIATING, WHAT OUR PURPOSES ARE, AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, WHAT ARE THEIR VIEWS.

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I MET WITH TWO SENATORS INDIVIDUALLY YESTERDAY AFTERNOON ON THIS VERY MATTER. NOW, WE HAVE NOT REACHED A CONCLUSION IN THESE NEGOTIATONS. I NOW KNOW THE VIEWS OF AT LEAST SOME IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE. NOW, IF I CAN DO THAT, OTHERS AROUND HERE ARE GOING TO BE DOING IT, MOST IMPORTANTLY INCLUDING THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Q ARE YOU SAYING THAT HE WOULD BE WILLING TO DRAW MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS MORE ACTIVELY INTO POLICY MAKING RATHER THAN SIMPLY CONSULTING AFTERWARDS?

A I'M SURE THERE IS GOING TO BE MORE CONSULTATION WITH COMMITTEES AND MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS AS WE PROCEED ALONG THE TRACK TOWARD DECISIONS THAT ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BE TAKEN SO THAT WE CAN TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE VIEWS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS.

NOW, YOU MUST KEEP IN MIND THAT THERE IS A CERTAIN CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE THAT ANY ADMINISTRATION MUST RESERVE TO ITSELF, JUST AS THE CONGRESS RESERVES CERTAIN CONSTITUTIONAL ROLES FOR ITSELF.

Q A QUESTION ABOUT THE TIMING OF THIS SPEECH. WHY DID THE SECRETARY DECIDE TO GIVE IT TODAY? AND APPARENTLY A NUMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTIONS OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS HAVE LED TO HIS GIVING THE SPEECH TODAY. BUT WHAT SPECIFIC ACTIONS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE RECENTLY COULD YOU LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PINPOINT AS BEING THE PRIMARY CAUSES FOR THE DELIVERY OF THIS SPEECH TODAY?

I HAVE IN MIND --

A ONE OF THE IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS WAS THE NEW CONGRESS.

SECONDLY, AND I GUESS EQUALLY IMPORTANTLY, IS THE NEW

ADMINISTRATION, A PRESIDENT WHO JUST CAME FROM THE CONGRESS.

AND THIRDLY, ARE THE DIFFERENCES THAT WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED BETWEEN OURSELVES OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS.

THE FACT THAT IT HAPPENED ON JANUARY 24 IS NOT ALL THAT MONUMENTAL. IT COULD HAVE BEEN ONE DAY OR THE OTHER. BUT THE SECRETARY HAD BEEN COMMITTED TO THAT FORUM

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FOR SEVERAL WEEKS.

Q IN OTHER WORDS, THE TOPIC OF THE SPEECH WAS DECIDED SEVERAL WEEKS AGO?

A IN GENERAL, THE SECRETARY HAD IN MIND SEVERAL WEEKS AGO THIS AS ONE TOPIC OF A COUPLE OF SPEECHES HE HOPES TO MAKE IN THIS PERIOD.

Q DID HE MAKE BASICALLY THE SAME PITCH TO THE NEW MEMBERS OF CONGRESS?

A BASICALLY, YES.

Q BOB, DOESN'T THIS WHOLE SPEECH, THE WHOLE APPROACH, LEAD PEOPLE TO BELIEVE IN WHAT YOU ARE BEING DISAPPOINTED IN, THAT IT CALLS FOR LESS OPEN DISCUSSION WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE CONGRESS OF THE MAJOR ISSUES IN SECRET RATHER THAN LESS SECRETIVE DISCUSSIONS?

I'M TALKING HERE ON PAGE 10, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE LEGISLATIVE SANCTIONS WERE TOO PUBLIC OR TOO DRASTIC OR TOO
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UNDISCRIMINATING. WHAT IS HE TALKING ABOUT? WHAT IS THIS INNUENDO THAT THE SECRETARY IS BRINGING INTO LOS ANGELES FOR THE AMERICAN PUBLIC TO UNDERSTAND AND FOR YOU TO BRIEF US ON?

A NEXT QUESTION.

Q WELL, THIS CALLS FOR AN ANSWER, BOB. WHY DID HE BRING IN THIS SECTION RIGHT HERE AT THIS TIME -- TOO DISCRIMINATING, TOO PUBLIC, TOO DRASTIC? WHAT IS HE TALKING ABOUT, WHAT PART OF THE LEGISLATION OR THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS? WHY CAN'T WE GET AN ANSWER TO THAT?

A NEXT QUESTION.

Q WELL, I REPEAT, BOB, FOR THE THIRD TIME, WHY CAN'T WE GET AN ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION? WHY IS THIS BROUGHT INTO IT? Q THANK YOU, BOB." INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, TOSEC 34, PRESS CONFERENCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: SmithRJ
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE018320
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: RFUNSETH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750028-0494
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750120/aaaaarha.tel
Line Count: 971
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN PRS
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 18
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <23 OCT 2003 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

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05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MCCLOSKEY BACKGROUNDER
TAGS: OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (MCCLOSKEY, ROBERT J)
To: LOS ANGELES
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006